

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 12883 01 OF 02 101609Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4268

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 12883

EXDIS

E.O. XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM,UR,UR

SUBJECT: TTBT/PNE NEGOTIATIONS - STOESSEL RESTRICTED MEETING
STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 10, 1975. TTBT/PNE DELEGATION MESSAGE
NO. FIVE

EXDIS

1. FOLLOWING IS STOESSEL STATEMENT MADE AT RESTRICTED MEETING
ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1975.

BEGIN TEXT:

ON THE 24TH OF JULY YOU PROVIDED US WITH THE CURRENT
THINKING OF YOUR GOVERNMENT ON MAJOR ELEMENTS TO FORM THE
BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS FOR
PEACEFUL PURPOSES CALLED FOR IN ARTICLE III OF THE TREATY
OF JULY 3, 1974.

FOLLOWING YOUR STATEMENT I SAID THAT I PERSONALLY
CONSIDERED IT A CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE IMPORTANT
WORK WITH WHICH WE HAVE BEEN CHARGED BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS.
DURING THE RECESS THE US SIDE CAREFULLY REVIEWED YOUR INITIA-
TIVE, AND TODAY I WILL REVIEW THE RESULTS OF OUR CONSIDERA-
TIONS AND RESPOND POINT-BY-POINT.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED THAT YIELD LIMITS FOR BOTH
INDIVIDUAL CONTAINED EXPLOSIONS AND INDIVIDUAL EXCAVATION
EXPLOSIONS BE SET AT 150 KILOTONS.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 12883 01 OF 02 101609Z

THE US SIDE IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT A YIELD LIMIT OF

150 KILOTONS FOR INDIVIDUAL EXPLOSIONS, CONTINGENT UPON AGREEMENT ON INFORMATION EXCHANGE ALONG THE LINES RECOMMENDED BY THE EXPERT GROUPS AND ON OBSERVER RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS REQUIRED TO CONFIRM THE VALIDITY OF THAT INFORMATION. THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSED THAT LIMITS ON AGGREGATE YIELD OF BOTH CONTAINED GROUP EXPLOSIONS AND EXCAVATION GROUP EXPLOSIONS BE SET AT 2 MEGATONS.

THE US SIDE IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT AN AGGREGATE YIELD LIMIT OF 1 MEGATON FOR GROUP EXPLOSIONS, PROVIDED AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON THE QUANTITATIVE DEFINITION OF A GROUP AND ON NECESSARY VERIFICATION MEASURES.

THESE MEASURES INCLUDE AGREED TECHNIQUES AND PROCEDURES FOR THE DETERMINATION OF INDIVIDUAL YIELDS BASED ON MEASURING THE HYDRODYNAMIC SHOCK-FRONT HISTORY; AGREED MEASURES TO ASSURE THE ABSENCE OF COLLATERAL EVENTS; AGREEMENT ON INFORMATION EXCHANGE, GEOMETRY AND SPACING OF EXPLOSIONS IN GROUPS; AND AGREEMENT ON OBSERVER RIGHTS AND FUNCTIONS. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS STATED THAT SOME NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS ABOVE THE 150-KILOTON LIMIT SHOULD BE PERMITTED.

THE US PREFERS A 150-KILOTON LIMIT ON ALL INDIVIDUAL EXPLOSIONS AND THE TEXT I WILL PRESENT TO YOU DOES NOT REFER TO EXCEPTIONS ABOVE THIS LIMIT.

THE FOLLOWING FACTORS CONTRIBUTE TO THIS PREFERENCE: IF THERE WERE NOT PROVISIONS FOR EXCEPTIONS TO THE 150-KILOTON LIMIT THERE WOULD BE NO NEED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN EXCAVATION AND CONTAINED PNES;

THE NECESSITY FOR STRINGENT VERIFICATION PROVISIONS FOR EXCAVATION PNES WOULD BE LESSENED; IN PARTICULAR, THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR A FISSION YIELD RESTRICTION AND ITS ATTENDANT MELT SAMPLE COLLECTION;

FURTHER, THE PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE OF BOTH THE TREATY OF JULY 3, 1974, AND THE PNE AGREEMENT WOULD BE ENHANCED IF ALL INDIVIDUAL PNES WERE SUBJECT TO THE WEAPON-TEST YIELD RESTRICTION.

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS STATED THAT FOR EXPLOSIONS WITH PLANNED YIELDS CLOSE TO 100 KILOTONS AND UP TO 150 KILOTONS, THE HOST SIDE WOULD INVITE OBSERVERS IF THE HOST SIDE BELIEVED THAT THE PRESENCE OF OBSERVERS WAS DESIRABLE FOR A SPECIFIC EXPLOSIONS IN ORDER TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS. THE SOVIET

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 12883 01 OF 02 101609Z

SIDE ALSO PROPOSED THAT OBSERVERS BE PRESENT AT ALL EVENTS ABOVE 150 KILOTONS.

THE US SIDE HAS REVISED ITS VIEWS AND NOW PROPOSES THAT PROVISIONS FOR OBSERVERS BE LIMITED TO THOSE EVENTS HAVING PLANNED YIELDS IN THE RANGE 100 KILOTONS AND ABOVE; AND, OF COURSE, WE AGREE THAT OBSERVERS MUST BE PERMITTED FOR ALL GROUPS OF EXPLOSIONS WITH PLANNED AGGREGATE YIELDS ABOVE 150 KILOTONS. IT MUST BE PROVIDED THAT OBSERVERS OF THE

VERIFYING SIDE SHALL HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE PRESENT AND TO EXERCISE ANY OR ALL RIGHTS PROVIDED FOR IN THE AGREEMENT AT THE SOLE DISCRETION OF THE VERIFYING SIDE. ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THESE RIGHTS ARE ESSENTIAL FOR OUR AGREEMENT, WE WOULD FURTHER NOTE THAT THEY MIGHT NOT BE EXERCISED FOR EVERY EXPLOSION. A DETERMINATION NOT TO EXERCISE SUCH RIGHTS WOULD OF COURSE BE THE PREROGATIVE OF THE VERIFYING SIDE, NOT THE HOST SIDE. THE RIGHT OF THE HOST SIDE TO INVITE OBSERVERS IN CASES IT JUDGES APPROPRIATE SHOULD ALSO BE RECOGNIZED IN THE AGREEMENT.

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 12883 02 OF 02 101808Z

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 INRE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4269

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 12883

EXDIS

WITH RESPECT TO YOUR STATEMENT THAT INFORMATION WOULD BE EXCHANGED BEFORE AN EXPLOSION, WE NOTE THAT EXPERTS OF THE TWO SIDES REACHED CONSTRUCTIVE CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE INFORMATION THAT SHOULD BE EXCHANGED IN ORDER TO AID TELESEISMIC YIELD DETERMINATIONS AND MEASUREMENT OF THE YIELDS OF INDIVIDUAL EXPLOSIONS OF GROUPS OF EXPLOSIONS. ON THE BASIS OF THE WORK OF THE EXPERTS IN ROUND III, WE BELIEVE THAT AGREEMENT ON INFORMATION EXCHANGE SHOULD PRESENT NO SIGNIFICANT PROBLEMS.

WITH RESPECT TO YOUR COMMENTS ABOUT THE TREATY OF 1963, WE BELIEVE THAT A PNE TREATY SHOULD EXPLICITLY AFFIRM THAT ALL PNES MUST BE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH EXISTING TREATY OBLIGATIONS INCLUDING THE LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY OF 1963. OUR VIEWS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXCAVATION EXPLOSIONS AND COMPLIANCE WITH THE TREATY OF 1963 WERE PRESENTED TO YOU IN ROUND III, AT WHICH TIME WE STATED THAT US STUDIES

INDICATE THAT IT DOES NOT APPEAR POSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT MAJOR
PNE EXCAVATION PROJECTS WITHOUT VIOLATING THE TREATY OF
1963.

THE US IS WILLING TO DECLARE AN INTENTIONS TO COOPERATE
IN THE PNE FIELD ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY AND MUTUAL
BENEFIT IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONSTITUTIONAL PROCEDURES OF
THE PARTIES. THE PNE AGREEMENT SHOULD, WE BELIEVE, PROVIDE
FOR SUCH ARRANGEMENTS BUT SHOULD NOT INCLUDE SPECIFIC
DETAILS OF FORMS OR PROGRAMS OF COOPERATION.

ON THE BASIS OF OUR JOINT WORK DURING THE LAST THREE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 12883 02 OF 02 101808Z

ROUNDS, THE US SIDE HAS PREPARED A DRAFT TEXT OF A TREATY
THAT WILL BE PRESENTED TO YOU IN OUR PLENARY MEETING
TODAY, AND I HAVE THREE COPIES I CAN PRESENT TO YOU NOW IN
ADVANCE OF THE PLENARY.

STOESSEL

SECRET

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